

Message Text

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTO 11178

STADIS//////////

EXDIS

FOR EB GREENWALD AND S/P BARTHOMLOMEW FROM LORD

DEPARTMENT PASS NSCE FOR SCOWCROFT AND BUTLER

CAIRO FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY ROBINSON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A) PFOR

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S UNCTAD SPEECH SECTION SECTION SIX (VI)

CONCLUSION

1. MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SECRETARY GENERAL, DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES:

2. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS A TASK OF MANY DIMENSIONS. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THE WORLD'S EFFORTS MOST BE FOUNDED UPON THESE PRINCIPLES:

-- DEVELOPMENT IS A PROCESS OF SHARED OBJECTIVES.

FOR THE LESS ADVANCED NATIONS, IT MEANS ECONOMIC SECURITY AND THE ACCELERATION OF ECONOMIC GROWTH. FOR THE MORE ADVANCED NATIONS, IT MEANS

THE ABILITY TO SUSTAIN ECONOMIC GROWTH. THESE ARE CLOSELY RELATED.

-- DEVELOPMENT IS A MUTUALLY REINFORCING PROCESS AMONG NATIONS.

THE ADVANCE OF ONE COUNTRY DOES NOT DETRACT FROM THAT OF ANOTHER. ON THE CONTRARY. THERE IS NOTHING PERMANENT ABOUT THE DISTINCTION

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BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING WORLDS. WE WATCH OTHER NATIONS

DEVELOP AND MOVE TOWARD ECONOMIC MATURITY WITH PLEASURE, AND WITH RENEWED CONFIDENCE THAT THE WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM, AND WITH IT THE U.S., WILL BE BETTER OFF. THE DEVELOPMENT AND WELL-BEING OF INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES DEPEND ON THE GROWTH AND VIGOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY AS A WHOLE. WE LIVE IN A GLOBAL SYSTEM OF INTERLOCKING INTERESTS. THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS NEED THE ACCELERATED GROWTH OF MARKETS AND PRODUCTION IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD. THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES BENEFIT FROM SUSTAINED GROWTH IN THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD, WHICH EXPANDS THEIR MARKETS, INCREASES CAPITAL AND STIMULATES TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS. IN CONTENTION WE MERELY FRUSTRATE EACH OTHER. THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO COOPERATION.

-- DEVELOPMENT IS A PROCESS OF MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY. THE STRENGTH OF THE INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES MUST BE REGARDED AS A TRUST FOR THE PROGRESS OF ALL; THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES DO NOT GAIN IF THEY WEAKEN THAT STRENGTH THROUGH CONTRIVED SCARCITIES, CARTELS, EMBARGOS, OR ARBITRARY SEIZURES OF PROPERTY. ALL OF US MAY CLAIM RIGHTS -- BUT ALL OF US MUST ACKNOWLEDGE RESPONSIBILITIES AS WELL. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION CANNOT BE ONE-SIDED. OUR EFFORTS HERE MUST TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE CONCERNS -- AND THE CONTRIBUTION--OF ALL COUNTRIES, DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING, PRODUCER AND CONSUMER, EAST AND WEST, NORTH AND SOUTH. IT WILL REQUIRE MUTUAL RESPECT, MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, AND MUTUAL BENEFIT. WITHOUT THIS ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF ALL NATIONS, THIS DIALOGUE -- PROMISING AS WE ALL REALIZE IT TO BE -- CANNOT BE SUSTAINED.

-- DEVELOPMENT IS A PROCESS OF CHANGE AND INNOVATION. IT MUST RESPOND NOT ONLY TO THE IMPERATIVES OF RAPIDLY CHANGING TECHNOLOGY BUT ALSO TO THE EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES. WE MUST FASHION NEW MEANS OF COOPERATION BASED ON THE SELF-RESPECT AND SOVEREIGN EQUALITY OF ALL NATIONS. THE OLD RELATIONSHIPS OF DONOR AND RECIPIENT SEEM INCREASINGLY PATERNALISTIC. THEY MAY ALSO SEEM INCREASINGLY TO BE A ONE-SIDED BURDEN TO THOSE WHO HAVE LONG BEEN DONORS. THE SPIRIT OF OUR TIME DEMANDS GREATER USE OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, WITH THEIR SHARED DECISION-MAKING BASED ON NEW REALITIES OF POWER AND INFLUENCE. ALL NATIONS WHOSE FUTURE IS AFFECTED BY DECISIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL

SYSTEM SHOULD HAVE A VOICE IN A JUST AND AN EFFECTIVE PROCESS. WE SEEK AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER WHICH IS BROADLY SUPPORTED BECAUSE ITS BENEFITS ARE BROADLY SHARED. WE MUST FIND PATHS TO DEVELOPMENT
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BY WHICH EACH NATION MAY RETAIN ITS SENSE OF IDENTITY, ITS CULTURE, AND ITS IDEOLOGICAL PREFERENCES. DEVELOPMENT ITSELF HAS NO IDEOLOGY -- EXCEPT INsofar AS IT EMBRACES PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS AND REJECTS THE IDEOLOGIES OF CONFRONTATION AND DESPAIR. -- AND DEVELOPMENT IS A PRACTICAL TASK FOR GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR PEOPLES. THE EXTERNAL ASPECT OF DEVELOPMENT, THE COOPERATION AND ASSISTANCE BETWEEN NATIONS, IS CRUCIAL; BUT SO TOO IS THE INTERNAL ASPECT. WHATEVER THE DEGREE OF OUTSIDE

ASSISTANCE, SUCESS WILL REQUIRE POLICIES THAT ENCOURAGE SAVINGS, WISE USE OF EXTERNAL AID, FAMILY PLANNING, LAND REFORM -- IN SHORT, A RANGE OF MEASURES TO MOBILIZE EFFECTIVELY DOMESTIC PHYSICAL AND HUMAN RESOURCES.

3. AND WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT IT IS THE TALENTS AND EFFORTS OF OUR CITIZENS WHICH MAKE DEVELOPMENT A REALITY, AND IT IS THEY WHO ARE ITS ULTIMATE BENEFICIARIES. DEVELOPMENT MUST PROVIDE THE MINIMUM ESSENTIALS FOR LIFE -- FOOD, CLOTHING, AND SHELTER. IT SHOULD RELIEVE HUMAN SUFFERING AND MONOTONY, PAINFUL AND DEBILITATING ILLNESS, AND DEMEANING SERVITUDE TO OTHERS. IT MUST LOOK BEYOND SURVIVAL TO PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR EDUCATION, GREATER PERSONAL FREEDOM, AND INDIVIDUAL DIGNITY AND SELF-RESPECT.

4. MR. PRESIDENT, THE SCALE OF THE TASK BEFORE US WILL REQUIRE A COLLABORATIVE EFFORT UNPRECEDENTED IN HISTORY. NO NATION ALONE CAN SURMOUNT -- AND ONLY TOGETHER CAN NATIONS MASTER -- WHAT IS INESCAPABLY A GLOBAL CHALLENGE. WE ARE ALL BEING TESTED.

5. BUT WE ARE NOT CONFRONTED BY OVERWHELMING ODDS, BY INTRACTABLE OBSTACLES. OPPORTUNITIES AND CHOICES EXIST. THEY ARE OURS -- TO SEIZE -- OR TO EVADE.

6. IF WE WERE UNABLE TO PERCEIVE THE OPENINGS WHICH THE PRESENT MOMENT OFFERS, WE MIGHT BE LACKING MERELY IN COMPETENCE. BUT WE CAN PERCEIVE THEM. WE DO PERCEIVE THEM. CONSEQUENTLY, FAILURE TO ACT WOULD INDICATE A PARALYSIS OF WILL AND MORAL CULPABILITY.

7. IT IS WITHIN OUR POWER TO MAKE THE PRESENT ERA AN AGE OF UNPARALLELED HUMAN ADVANCE. BUT IT IS NOT INEVITABLE THAT WE WILL DO SO. FOR IF HISTORY TEACHES US ANYTHING, IT IS THAT
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NO BENIGN FORCE GUARANTEES OUR PROGRESS.
---IN EACH AGE, MEN AND WOMEN HAVE STRIVEN FOR GREATER PROSPERITY. YET THROUGH MOST OF HISTORY, THE RICHES OF A FEW HAVE BEEN GAINED AT THE EXPENSE OF MANY.
---IN EACH AGE, MEN AND WOMEN HAVE STRIVEN FOR A LIFE OF JUSTICE AND DIGNITY. YET ALWAYS IN THE PAST, FOR ALL THE GROWING ABUNDANCE, THERE HAS BEEN A SURPLUS OF MISERY AND DESPAIR.

8. OUR AGE CAN, AND MUST, BE DIFFERENT. IT WILL NOT BE EASY, BUT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY WE HAVE THE MEANS AT HAND.

9. IF WE SUCCEED, OURS WILL BE REMEMBERED AS THE AGE IN WHICH THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD, WHILE COMPETING PEACEFULLY, LEARNED TO BUILD CREATIVELY AND CONFIDENTLY ON COMMON GOALS; THE AGE IN WHICH THE GENIUS OF MANKIND WAS DIRECTED DECISIVELY TOWARDS THE

ENOBLEMENT OF HUMAN LIFE.

10. OUR WORLD WILL NOT REMAIN AS IT IS. THERE ARE NO PERMANENT
PLATEAUS IN THE AFFAIRS OF MANKIND.

11. WE WILL MOVE FORWARD -- OR WE WILL REGRESS.

12. WE WILL CONQUER OUR CHALLENGES -- OR THEY WILL CONQUER US.

13. THE CHOICE IS UP TO US. I, FOR ONE, AM CONFIDENT THAT
IF WE DEAL AS SERIOUS PEOPLE, IF WE ADDRESS OUR PROBLEMS
DIRECTLY, FREE FROM THE RESIDUE OF OUTMODED ARGUMENTS, AND FREE
FROM RIGID IDEOLOGICAL PRESCRIPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE, WE WILL
SUCCEED. THE UNITES STATES STANDS READY TO GO RORWARD IN THIS
SPIRIT. WE WELCOME THOSE WHO WILL TRAVEL WITH US, THIS ROAD TO
TOMORROW.

END TEXT.
KISSINGER

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED NSCE.

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